

million American families—will either get a tax increase or a tax cut of less than \$100.

Meanwhile, according to the Tax Policy Center, the top 1 percent of earners in our country will reap 83 percent of the benefits of the tax plan.

Let's go over that again. The middle class, 83 percent, either get a tax increase or a tax break of less than \$100. The top 1 percent, the wealthiest, get 83 percent of the benefits. Middle-class America is asking something: Why does the top get far more than I do? Why do I get a tax increase when so many of them get a huge decrease? To boot, millions of middle-class Americans will now go without health insurance and millions more will see their premiums rise. At the same time, multinational corporations and wealthy hedge fund managers enjoy a massive tax break. To repeat, the legacy of this bill will be to cement the Republican Party as the party of the rich and powerful against the middle class.

We Democrats have been saying this for years, but our Republican colleagues with this tax bill have done us a major favor. Even their Republican supporters are realizing where the Senate Republicans and House Republicans are—on the side of the most wealthy, on the side of the big powerful corporations, not on the side of the middle class.

Whenever we have had a Republican President and Republican Congress, we get the same thing—a program of tax cuts for the rich, higher deficit and debt, and then threats to Social Security and Medicare. That is what happened under President Bush, and we are seeing the exact same playbook today. There is nothing about this bill that is suited to the needs of the American worker or the American economy. My Republican friends would propose it in a booming economy or recession, whether we have surpluses or deficits. No matter what, it seems to our Republican friends that tax cuts for the rich and big corporations are the answer to our problems. The benefits will trickle down like magic to the rest of us.

Trickle down is the entire philosophy of this tax bill—trickle down. When they say they are helping the middle class, when they say they are creating jobs, it is because the wealthy get money and, in their belief, will create jobs. It hasn't happened. It hasn't happened. Corporate America has more money than ever before. The stock market is higher than ever before, and job creation isn't.

That is where this bill is at. There is nothing about this bill that suits the needs of the American worker, as I said. Trickle down has been widely discredited as an economic theory. It has been discredited by recent history, and it will be discredited again.

Our Republican colleagues are clinging. They are saying: This bill is so unpopular, but don't worry, once the economy takes off, once people see

hundreds of dollars in their pockets, they will change their mind.

The economy is not going to take off. The wealthy will do better. There will be a lot of dividends. There will be a lot of stock buybacks, not too much job creation. AT&T is a big American company and a fine American company. Their tax rate over the last 10 years was a mere 8 percent, and they cut 80,000 jobs. That one statistic belies all this trickle-down bunk that our Republican colleagues still cling to even though it is outdated and disproved, and the American people will have their chance in 2018 to reject this philosophy and move our country in a dramatically different direction—back toward government that works to lift up the middle class rather than one that gives more to those who already have so much. From now until then, we Democrats will focus like a laser on making things better for working Americans and the middle class. The contrast, particularly this tax bill, which so benefits the wealthy and powerful, could not be more clear.

FUNDING THE GOVERNMENT

Mr. SCHUMER. Now to the end of the year, Mr. President, as a result of the Republican efforts to jam the tax bill through before the end of the year, we now have precious little time left to keep the government open and to solve a legion of problems.

We still haven't reached a budget deal to lift the spending caps equally for both defense and urgent domestic priorities such as combatting the opioid crisis, improving veterans' healthcare, and building infrastructure.

We have not reached a deal to reauthorize the Children's Health Insurance Program, community health centers, or to extend the 702 FISA Court program.

Two major sticking points remain in the form of the disaster supplemental, which still does not treat Puerto Rico, California, and the U.S. Virgin Islands as well as Florida, Texas, and Louisiana.

Of course we have the Dreamers and a moral imperative to protect them. These are kids who were brought here very young through no fault of their own. Many of them know no other country but ours. They learn in our schools, work in our companies, serve in our military, and want to be Americans more than anything in the world. They are Americans in every single important way but one; they lack the paperwork. We have to solve that problem.

We have been negotiating with our Republican counterparts for weeks in search of a deal to pair DACA protections with reasonable border security. Democrats have always believed in border security, as the comprehensive immigration bill in the Senate showed. I hope now that the tax bill is behind them, my Republican colleagues are fi-

nally willing to reach an agreement, but because of the particular importance of all of these issues, especially Dreamers, we cannot do a short-term funding bill that picks and chooses what problems to solve and what not to solve. That will not be fair and will not pass. We have to do them all together instead of in a piecemeal fashion.

Whether that global deal comes before the week is out or a later date in January, it has to be a truly global deal. We can't leave any of the issues behind. Our Republican colleagues on tax and healthcare decided not to work with us. In this case they have to work with us, and working with us means that we sit down around the table and decide there are some things you want, some things we want, and let's compromise and get it done—not just picking and choosing what you want to get done and telling us to deal with it. That will not work this time.

I can assure my friend the majority leader that my caucus will be working in good faith with his caucus as long as they choose to work with us, and we will work with our colleagues in the House as well to reach a deal as soon as possible.

I yield the floor.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

REPUBLICAN TAX BILL

Ms. KLOBUCHAR. Mr. President, early this morning, the Senate voted on the tax bill. I voted against the measure, and as I have said many times, I don't think this is a bill that is going to work for my State or for America. The House now has one more opportunity. I don't think many people think they are going to change their vote, but I just hope, instead of celebrating what happens today, they are going to step back and look at what this really means.

I am in a group of people who have long called for tax reform. In fact, 2 weeks before this bill passed, we stood before the public and said we would like to work with the Republicans on a bill to bring the business rate down and to bring the money in from overseas but a bill that didn't add this kind of weight to the debt and a bill that actually was good for all Americans, not just some Americans.

We also could have done so much more. We are adding \$1.5 trillion to the debt. Yet we are doing nothing for infrastructure. We didn't change the carried interest loophole. We did nothing to fix so many things that even the President had identified as things that needed to be fixed in the Tax Code.

I have been concerned by this latest effort, which has not been bipartisan at